KADOC INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER 2013

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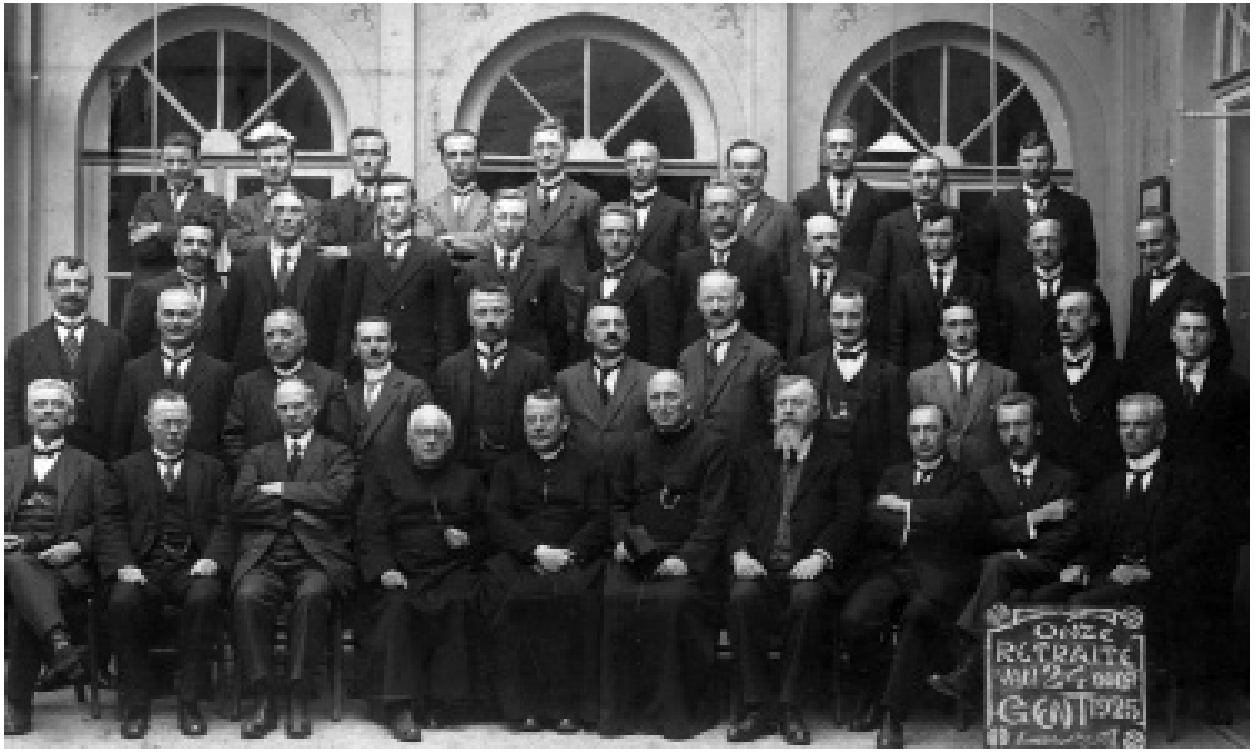
Met steun van de Vlaamse overheid

A HISTORY OF CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN BELGIUM
Publication Project

HENK BYLS

The freedom of education is one of the cornerstones of the Belgian constitutional system. This principle, as it is formulated in what was previously article seventeen of the constitution (now, article twenty-four) has to a great extent determined the view of the national educational landscape. The "Catholic network" was the most important player in this scenario. From a historiographic perspective, it is therefore remarkable that historical research has only sporadically considered education from the point of view of its uniting factor – the Catholic affiliation. In collaboration with the educational umbrella organization SeGEC (Secretariat général de l'enseignement catholique en communautés française et germanophone de Belgique) and VSKO (Vlaams Secretariaat van het Katholiek Onderwijs), KADOC intends alter this state of affairs. Since August 2012, work has been undertaken to make a critical synthesis of the history of Catholic education, which should be available in French and Dutch by the close of 2015.



Retreat of the teachers of East-Flanders in Ghent, 1925.

IDENTITIES: CONCLUSIONS AND CONCERNS

During September 2012, SeGEC organized an extremely interesting congress on the future of Catholic education. Stimulated by research results and expert's contributions, teachers, school directors, board of trustees, and parent associations entered into discussion with each other. A continually recurring question was the identity of Catholic education. What makes a Catholic school special? Does it have its own culture and in what sense does it refer, or should it refer, to its confessional basis? This is certainly an important question in light of the following paradox: while a continually smaller portion of the population considers itself as belonging to the Catholic Church, a continually greater portion is applying to schools from the Catholic network.

As a result, Catholic schools function in a particular field of tension. In the context of a lived faith and tradition, they need to find an educational answer that holds Catholicity together with pluralism. How this should take place was one of the central concerns for Catholic educational umbrellas in both French- and Dutch-speaking Belgium. In 2002, SeGEC asked the renowned French philosopher, Marcel Gauchet, to reflect on the concept of the Christian school. One of the first initiatives of Mieke Van Hecke, after having taken office as director-general of the VSKO in 2004, was the initiation of a fundamental reflection process on the identifying characteristics of a Catholic school. This undertaking produced interesting results and a continuing debate. But at the same time, a huge lacuna became to light. There was no critical and accessible study available on the development process of the particularity of Catholic education. Nonetheless, Catholic education is above all: a colorful, contextual consequence of a complex, Belgian, historical reality.

CATHOLIC EDUCATION: INSTITUTIONALLY – POLITICALLY

The history of Catholic education is in the first place an institutional and political history founded on a constitutional legal principle. The famous seventeenth article of

Class of a primary school, 1938.

the Belgian written constitution stipulated both the freedom of education and the principle that public education should take place "at the country's cost." The interpretation of the twofold emphasis of this article led to a debate relating to political and ideological outlook on life that continued throughout the whole of the nineteenth century. What role should the state play in the organization of education? Should this be an active role or merely a supplementary one? Did education that stemmed from a free initiative have the right to subsidies? If so, what legitimate exchange should there be in terms of control and pedagogical project? Another recurring debate concerned the place of religious education, in the official education as well. The fault-line in relation to outlook on life crystallized for the first time in a bitter school battle over primary education that raged from 1879. The new organic law of the liberal minister of Public Education, Pierre van Humbeeck, was seen by the episcopacy as a direct attack on faith and morals. The Catholic camp closed ranks and recovered its dominant position in the field of education after the electoral victory of June 1884. The conflicts in relation to the philosophical and religious outlooks on life and primary education continued to smolder until the First World War. With the introduction of compulsory school attendance in 1914, a provision was finally made for the financing of Catholic education given that approximately half of the primary schools had a confessional character.

During the twentieth century, politically and institutionally, problems grew in particular in relation to secondary education. Freedom of education also gradually came to have a different interpretation. The emphasis was no longer on the educational options offered, but shifted to a concept of freedom in terms of school choice. A father had to be able to choose a school for his children conform his convictions. The "father's freedom of choice" had to be a reality and this could only be guaranteed through a fair financing of free education. It was precisely this philosophy that became the base line for the School Pact in 1958, not without a preceding battle over the school issue. This alternative conception of freedom was not without effect for the confessional character of Catholic education. No-one perceived this better than Pierre Harmel, former minister of education (1950-1954) and one of the spiritual fathers of the School Pact. In line with article 26, 3 of the Declaration of Human Rights, he put forward that the basis of Catholic education was laid by the Catholic parents. In this way, politically, it was no longer the Catholic education – read, episcopacy – that was defended, but the parents' freedom of choice.

Up until the School Pact, the educational matter remained the governmental concern of a national ministry. With the adjoining of a Flemish deputy (Renaat Van Elslande) to the French-speaking minister of National Education, from 1961, a gradual division took place in that ministerial department. The state reform of 1970 and especially the constitutional revision of 1988 shifted the responsibility for education, after 1 January 1989, to the French and Flemish Communities.

The in 1957 established National Secretariat for Catholic Education, the umbrella association for Catholic education, also took in 1989 the path of a gradual division. After the appointment of two deputies to the general director of each linguistic register, a distinct coordinating body was established for each community: VSKO and SEGEC.

CATHOLIC EDUCATION: CULTURAL HISTORY

The broad outlines of the history described above are well known and even well studied. In the context of the project "The History of Catholic Education in Belgium," we will consequently not repeat it. The emphasis will be rather on the cultural historical aspects of Catholic education between 1830 and the present time. The main focus will be

The youth movement VKSJ (Female Catholic Studying Youth) in the boarding school of Burst (East-Flanders), 1935-1936.

the varying identities which characterized Catholic education. The most important underlying question is how Catholic education as a specific category was seen and experienced. It is evident that the underlying philosophy of life played a major role in this, especially during periods of political-social conflicts. But even when the ranks did not need to be closed, there were factors at work shaping identity. Catholic education formed (and forms) an extremely heterogeneous landscape. Often it was a choice area for distinguishing oneself from another.

Male and female congregations entered into competition with each other for the best pupils and the best contemporary offer of education. Others put themselves forward as progressive and socially concerned. School buildings were the architectural bearers of certain ideologies. Internally, there were those for or against student and parent participation. The role of women within Catholic education, both as pupil and as teacher, saw a complex evolution. The confessional character of the Catholic school life had peaks, but finally, during the second half of the twentieth century, also came under pressure from within. Catholic schools were the pre-eminent meeting place for the Catholic pillar. Internally they were a breeding ground and haven for youth, sport and cultural associations.

The above examples are only a few aspects of the broad panoramic picture that will be developed in the publication. Primary, secondary, higher and special education will all receive attention. Only university education will not be taken into consideration.

In the meantime, the project is already well established. An editorial committee, comprising Jan De Maeyer (KADOC-KU Leuven), Marc Depaepe (KU Leuven), Dominique Grootaers (UCL), Peter Heyrman (KADOC-KU Leuven) and Paul Wynants (Université de Namur) has been enlarged with a broad authors' team of specialists from Dutch- and French-speaking Belgium. Through "The History of Catholic Education," KADOC, SeGEC, and VSKO are in the process of realizing a national project aimed at the broadest possible public. Dutch-speaking authors have been paired up as much as possible with French-speaking authors. This should not only create a balanced publication, but should at the same time also bring to light those Catholic education identities that were not rooted in the fault-line of the linguistic communities.

SUBSIDIARITY AND SOCIAL PROVISION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
RESEARCH PROJECT

HENDRIK MOEYS

When in 1992 the Treaty on the European Union was signed in Maastricht, this involved the introduction of the subsidiarity principle in the official European legislation. Since the 1980s, the idea had begun to circulate more and more as a leading concept in the European policy documents, and it has also seen a boom in scientific literature. The generally accepted definition of this concept determines that decisions have to be taken on a policy level that is as close as possible to the citizen, and that a higher policy' level should only be given the power of decision if this appears to be more effective. Not only is the principle in this way reduced to a narrow and negative definition, but no thought is given to the historical evolution and development of the concept. Nonetheless, the essentially political-philosophical principle is of fundamental importance for Belgian history, since it was the theoretical seedbed for the system of "subsidized liberty" as it developed from the end of the nineteenth century, and especially after the Second World War. With the assistance of an initial funding from the Humanities and Social Sciences Group of the KU Leuven (Groep Humane Wetenschappen), KADOC has started, in the context of its "Society and Ideology" line of research, a fundamental research project that is intended to meet the deficiency in historical research.

The committee of the medical assistance fund 'Helpt Elkander' (Help Each Other), Ghent, 1909.

"THE IDEA OF SUBSIDIARITY, AS OLD AS EUROPEAN HISTORY"

According to the Parisian political philosopher Chantal Delsol, who wrote two leading books with her *L'État subsidiaire* (1992) and *Le principe de subsidiarité* (1993), the subsidiarity principle represents "a specifically European political and social idea, borne since the very beginning of the whole of our tradition." It goes beyond the narrow definition that at present applies to the political-institutional issues within the European Union. Subsidiarity is essentially a double-sided principle. On the one hand, a higher form of organization, such as central government, only plays a secondary role in society and has to leave the initiative to lower organizational structures, such as individuals and free associations. On the other hand, it is certainly its job to respond subsidiarily by stimulating absent, but necessary initiatives and to give support and to appropriate the authority that a lower level cannot – or cannot sufficiently – manage.

It immediately becomes clear that the concept unites a negative and a positive meaning: on the one hand a higher level should not "interfere" (negative) and on the other hand, its helping hand is both desirable and necessary (positive). At the basis of this paradoxical fundament lie, according to Delsol, two opposed philosophical principles: "the philosophy of action" that emphasizes individual

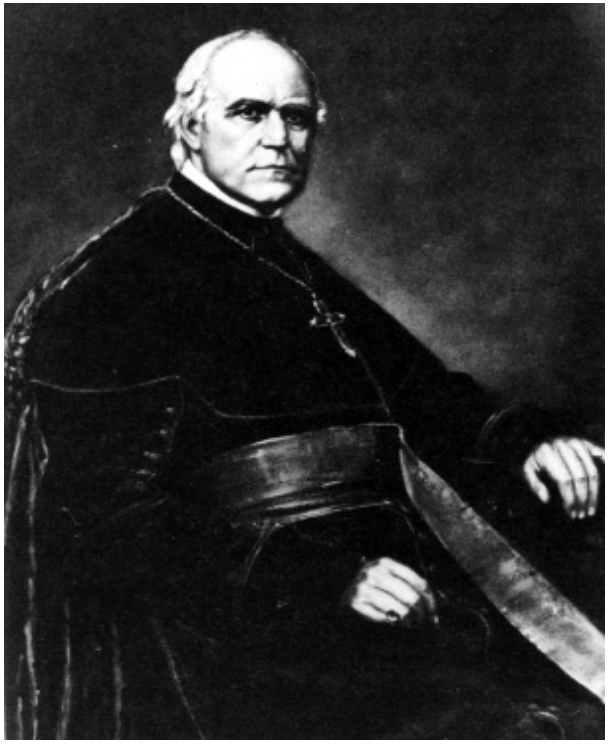
freedom and action, and the "representation of public interest" that puts the emphasis on solidarity and the common good. Taken on their own, both currents seem incompatible: by definition, individual freedom generates inequality, while the common good imposes precisely a limitation on freedom. The principle of subsidiarity combines both however in a balancing act by orientating individual freedom explicitly in function of the common welfare.

Although the subsidiarity principle was not mentioned explicitly until 1931 – in Pope Pius XI's encyclical *Quadragesimo anno* (1857-1939) – the principle concealed behind the name already possessed at that time a long history. It goes back to the Aristotelian thinking that was further developed by Aquinas (1225-1274) on the relation between the individual and the state. Here, the individual can only fully develop in interaction with, and as part of, larger entities, such as the family, social affiliations, or political levels of authority. In the confused context of the Contra Reformation, the early seventeenth century Calvinist theoretician Johannes Althusius (1563-1638), in his *Politica Methodica Digesta* (1603), defended the autonomy of the lower in opposition to the higher social entities. At the same time, he emphasized in a later edition of his work that the individual not only needs to exist in freedom and dignity, but also has need of help and support from a greater context. In this way, Althusius also referred to the negative and the positive connotations of subsidiarity.

SOCIAL CATHOLICISM AS FERTILE GROUND FOR CONCEPTUAL REFINEMENT

Despite its diverse roots in political philosophy, the subsidiarity principle only truly took shape under the influence of the Catholic social teaching during the nineteenth century. Early social Catholics systematized subsidiarity to a more or less coherent principle. Wilhelm von Ketteler (1811-1877), bishop of Mainz, emphasized in his theory of "le droit subsidiaire" (the subsidiary right) for example that the supplementary role of the central government should not be limited to ad hoc charity, but, to the contrary, should be an established right. In order to avoid that the state should in this way assume too much power, he delineated an important role in society for religious institutes of education and corporatist industrial guilds as intermediary institutions. The Italian Jesuit Luigi Taparelli (1793-1862) was similarly important for the development of theory, who, through his strong neo-Thomistic thinking, discerned an important social role that subsidiarity could play for intermediary bodies, as a bridge between the individual and the government. The ideas of Ketteler and Taparelli would, later in the nineteenth century, form a basis for the constantly developing social doctrine within the Church, in for example the international Union of Freiburg (1884 - ca. 1891), and as a guiding principle for Pope Leo XIII (1810-1903) in his distinguished encyclical *Rerum novarum* (1891). Since the clear introduction of the concept in *Rerum novarum*, the subsidiarity principle was put forward by the Church as the leading principle, in opposition to her two ideological contenders: liberalism and socialism.

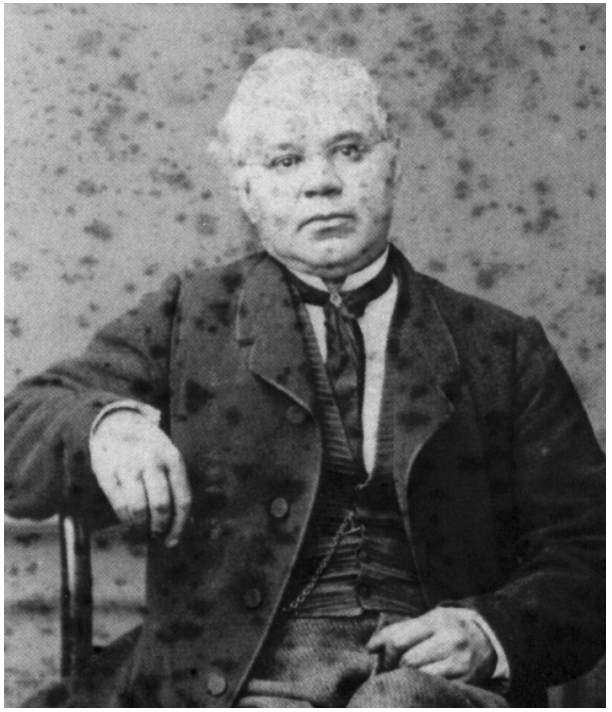
Besides its development and propagation as a theoretical concept, in the nineteenth century, the subsidiary principle could count on great interest from social and political elites. The fact that the non-interventionist liberalism was at a peak is perhaps not irrelevant. Socially conscious professional elites, who were particularly focused on seeking practical solutions for the problems of their time, identified with the dominant liberal notion of "self-help" and limited governmental support. In a contribution given at the "Congrès international de Bienfaisance" (the International Congress for Charity) that took place in Frankfurt during the week of 14 September 1857, the thirty-eight year old conservative Englishman Sir Stafford Northcote gave unconsciously a clear synthesis of what was in his time a widely spread subsidiarity idea among the "charitable" elite: "Que l'Etat nous aide, qu'il nous surveille, qu'il pose des principes dont nous ne puissions nous écarter, soit; mais si l'Etat se mêle trop de nos arrangements intérieurs, s'il s'efforce de traduire en formules légales les inspirations de la charité, il est à craindre que cette intervention directe ne produise beaucoup plus de mal que de bien, et n'entrave ce qu'il faudrait encourager." ("If the State helps us, watches over us, if it lays down principles from which we cannot distance ourselves, that is acceptable; but if the State interferes too much with our internal understandings, if it insists on translating the inspiration of charity into legal formulas, it is to be feared that this direct intervention will produce much more bad than good, and stifle that which it was meant to encourage"). The predominately negative tone against governmental intervention should be seen particularly in the light of the widespread net of Catholic initiatives in education and charitable institutions, which the mostly liberal Catholic elites wanted to protect from governmental initiatives.



Wilhelm von Ketteler.

THE BELGIAN PIONEERS

One individual from a "charitable" elite in Belgium was the Catholic journalist, publicist and philanthropist Edouard Ducpétiaux (1804-1868), who was present as secretary at the Congrès de Bienfaisance. Not only was he a respected figure in his own country through his work as inspector



Edouard Ducpétiaux.

Victor Brants.

general of the prisons and of charitable institutions, but he fulfilled a bridging role in other countries as the founder of diverse international congresses on charity. In many of his publications, he indicated his support for a system of charity in which the (Catholic) private initiative should receive all the space it required and the government should support the initiative financially. But it was not only Catholics like Ducpétiaux who were supporters of the subsidiarity principle. In 1859, the prominent liberal Charles Rogier (1800-1885) voiced his approval in the Chamber: "In a free country as our own, the initiative should come above all from the private individual and the community [...] But I also say that it would be to fall into a ridiculous exaggeration to protest to the government [...] against the right to come to the aid of individuals, the obligation of helping the local authorities, when the individual and local authorities take initiatives of useful measure."

At the end of the nineteenth century, the subsidiary principle became a common element in the Catholic social movement and its intellectual centers, with the Leuven' economist Victor Brants (1856-1914) as its most prominent figure. The Belgian Society for Social Economy – which he founded – as well as the new Higher Institute for Philosophy (1889) and the School for Political and Social Sciences at the Catholic University of Leuven (1891) emphasized, among other issues, the importance for society of a moderated governmental intervention, as a result of which free intermediary structures exercised a necessary subsidiary function between an otherwise all too immediate intervening government and a too individualistic individual. In this way, the subsidiary principle became the theoretical foundation for an expanding civil society of workers, middle-class and agricultural associations, and of federations for the sick and funds for old age and disability of all sorts. The initiative lay here emphatically on the ideologically compartmentalized associations, while the government became more and more structural in its funding: the system of "subsidized liberty" was born.

GOVERNMENT POLICY AND "SUBSIDIARY" SOCIAL PROVISION, 1830-1914

The research project explores how the Belgian authorities developed a system through which private initiatives were integrated into their policy and on the basis of which social, political or theoretical discourse they legitimized this policy. This could relate to religious initiatives – a prominent occurrence in nineteenth century Belgium in light of actively engaged religious institutes – but also to liberal, philanthropic, or undetermined private initiatives. Through this institutional framework of structure, support and enveloping of free initiative in a continual and changing interaction, the government created a system of "subsidiary" social provision. The project focuses on three broad thematic fields in which the "subsidiary" social provision had the greatest influential and structural intervention: 1) the institutional health sector, 2) mutual-aid associations and other initiatives focused on self-help and solidarity and 3) the educational system. On the one hand, this thematic demarcation makes a thorough analysis possible through allowing consideration to be given not only to the central government, but also to the provincial and local authorities. On the other hand, it also offers the possibility for reflection on the changing interpretation of the underlying discourse with which the government legitimated its policy. Since the research project, by adopting this approach, identifies itself explicitly with the international literature concerning "social provision," it must in this way then be possible to contribute to the as yet limited historical research on a particular period of Belgian history.

SHARED HISTORY, SHARED HERITAGE
TRAINING SESSIONS IN CONGO
Report

CARINE DUJARDIN

On the invitation of the rector of the Catholic University of Congo (Université Catholique du Congo) (UCC), professors from the Louvain Faculty of Theology, the archivist of the archdiocese of Mechelen-Brussels, and two employees from KADOC gave a five-day training session in Kinshasa on historiography, methodology and heritage management. Going by the working title of "Milestones for a history of the Catholic Church in Central Africa today," around twenty-five professors, assistants, and heritage managers came together from all parts of the country to reflect on the challenges and the possibilities of an African Church historiography. It was, in many respects, a fascinating interaction.

A training session.

TRAINING INITIATIVE

The training sessions were an initiative of CENCO, the National Episcopal Conference of Congo (Conférence Épiscopale Nationale du Congo) in collaboration with UCC (Université Catholique du Congo/Catholic University of the Congo), CAEK (Centre des Archives Ecclésiastiques Abbé Stefano Kaoze – the Center of Ecclesiastical Archives Father Stefano Kaoze) and KADOC. The project was financed by the Papal Charity of the Holy Apostle Peter. The main intention was to bring together professors from the great seminaries throughout the Congo in working sessions about historiography. The capital of Kinshasa was the best represented with twelve participants: lecturers, assistants, and secretaries from the UCC, the director and secretary of the CAEK and a researcher from the neighboring Protestant university UPC (Université Protestante du Congo). The vice-rector of UCC and the general secretary of ACEAC (Association des Conférences Épiscopales de l'Afrique Centrale – the Association of Episcopal Conferences of Central Africa) participated in the sessions. Participants from inland (seminary professors from Lubumbashi, Lisala, Bunia, Butembo (North Kivu), Kikwit, Bukavu (Murhesa) and Mayidi (Bas-Congo)) had often had a longer trip behind them than the Western lecturers. The sessions took place on the campus of the UCC, which, as hosting institute, made available its infrastructures and services.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND AFRICAN IDENTITY

The main intention of the initiative was to inspire participants and make them aware of the Church historiography of the Congo. The week of training was divided into working sessions, in which a more theoretical explanation with text and PowerPoint presentation was alternated with a discussion with the participants led by the day's chairman. The approach was to work with daily themes that related to both general, theoretical concepts of (African) historiography and to the more practical aspects.

During the first day of the congress, the emphasis was on the more theoretical concepts of historiography. For the theologically trained public, the explanation relating to the statute of Church history within theology was meaningful. Various possible approaches were pointed out. Church history ("histoire de l'église") focuses for example more on the internal aspect of the Church itself ("la perspective de l'intérieur"), as for example on developments in theology, liturgy, spirituality, while religious history ("histoire religieuse") studies rather the social significance of the religion ("la perspective de l'extérieur"), such as the role of the Christian in society and culture. The emphasis lay on the critical function of historiography and on the application of the historical method and historical criticism.

Wing of the Université du Congo.

Naturally, a great deal of attention was given during the lectures to African historiography. In line with French historiography (among others Jacques Gadille), the extra value was pointed out of a post-colonial African Church history. Attention was focused on the vitality of research outside of Europe, as for example comes to light in the African interpretations of the Bantu philosophy as analyzed by Father Placide Tempels O.F.M. (by the Cameroonian Dominican, Eloi Messi Metogo (Yaoundé, 1977), or the Congolese Jesuit Otoné Matangulu (Kinshasa, 1992)) and of the added value of an African approach to Church history (with attention to for example the model of the Church as family).

HISTORIOGRAPHY MULTIPLIED

After the general section, a more specific program followed with a focus on diverse genres in historiography. Reference was made to various models that could be applied to the history of a diocese (institutional, encyclopedic, or the model of an integral historiography) and to the possible work hypotheses and forms of presentation, for example, a scientific publication or a popular form such as the YouTube video film about the history of the diocese of Idiofa (RDC) <www.idofadiocese.com/>.

The renewed interest for the biography and for the history of congregations and mission was put in context. Social developments (such as positivism, Marxism, or post-modernism) exercise a substantial influence on historical questions and methods. With reference to a number of examples, various approaches were discussed, such as the positivistic school (Ranke), the Leuven tradition (Cauchie, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Ladeuze, Aubert), the French school of the Annales (including among others Lucien Fèbvre, Marc Bloch, and Fernand Braudel). More recent developments in Western historiography were also addressed, such as the renewed interest in the history of culture, the interest in identity and subjectivity (under the influence of Western individualism and nationalism), for discourse analysis (under the influence of the French linguistic philosophy), or, under the influence of post-modernism, the quest for new great narratives (the so-called "meta-narratives") such as the secularization model or the gender approach. In the history of mission, decolonization and inculturation thinking played an important role in the transition to a historiography of the local churches.

SOURCES AND SHARED HERITAGE

The approach was however especially focused on application. A whole day was given to the sources of African historiography. Many useful written resources are to be found however in the Western archive depots: in Rome (Vatican archives), Mechelen (archdiocese) or Leuven (KADOC). The Vatican archives, the diocesan archives, and those of religious institutes contain an enormous wealth of information for the (religious) historiography of Central Africa. This was illustrated by the archivist of the archdiocese of Mechelen through a number of impressive examples, in relation to the establishing of the Congo Mission (the archives of Cardinal Goossens (1884-1906)), the political debate in Belgium concerning Congo (the archives of Cardinal Mercier (1906-1926)), the establishment of Lovanium (1954), and the installing of the Church hierarchy in Congo (the archives of Cardinal Van Roey (1926-1961)), among others. Particularly remarkable was a not previously studied travel diary ("carnet de voyage") in which Cardinal Van Roey, during his first visit to Congo in 1948, meticulously noted his personal impressions of his travels, a treasure when it comes to the study of cultural contact between North and South.

KADOC staff presented an overview of the archives of religious institutes that are preserved in the center and of the wealth of iconographic resource material in relation to Congo and Central Africa that is housed there. A number of striking examples were shown of mission photography and mission film, including fragments showing the film personalities Matamata and Pilipili, who continue to enjoy popularity in Congo. Additionally, attention was drawn to

The church of Lovanium.

the wealth of the oral tradition in Africa and to the value and possibilities of the use of oral history and immaterial national heritage.

PRESERVATION IN A TROPICAL CLIMATE

The primary resources for a history are of course to be found in Congo itself: in the archives of CENCO, in the six Church provinces and the forty-seven dioceses. CAEK (Centre des Archives Ecclésiastiques – Center of Ecclesiastical Archives), established in 1988 by the Congolese bishops as a result of their "ad limina" visit to Rome, fulfils a special role in this context. The Church archive center is named after the first Congolese priest Stefano Kaoze. Space was made for CAEK in the buildings of UCC and it owns many unique series of resources, including the handwritten "diaries" or mission diaries of the Scheut missionary and mission bishop, Camille Van Ronslé (1862-1938). The archive center also collects audio-visual material and published resources and encourages research, in among others two publication series (Histoire du christianisme africain and Documents du christianisme africain). Since 1992, the center has been working on a bibliography and information bank relating to the history of evangelization in Congo since the period of the old Kongo Kingdom (1491-1880).

Immediately, the difficulties of preserving heritage in a tropical climate come to the fore. CAEK played a central role in the part of the program focusing on heritage. The delegation visited the archive center and gave advice on problems relating to preservation and managerial perspective. CAEK sees the giving of training to pastoral workers and ecclesial ministers as its primary task, with the basic intention of making them aware and training them in relation to the management of national heritage. Between 2003 en 2011, the center organized twelve local information and training sessions in various parishes of Kinshasa, Kisantu, and Kenge about heritage management. Eighteen staff members were engaged in this, with the responsibility of ensuring that important sets of documents are collected and in time passed on, and that an inventory is made.

THE PAST AS A BRIDGE TO THE FUTURE

Despite the practical discomforts that are part of daily life in Africa (the overpopulation of the towns, inadequate infrastructure and distribution of food, frequent electrical power cut-offs . . .) and the specific problems of the Catholic Church (secularization, competition with the Evangelical churches), we encountered a very motivated group. We were touched by the liveliness of the debate and the enthusiasm of the heritage managers. In this way, we had the opportunity, by way of a local visit, to become acquainted with UCC's ambitious plans for expansion on 79 acres ground at the edge of the city. Despite her problems, Kinshasa, the city of millions, is a fascinating and lively city.

The week of training also fits into the perspective for the future that the Episcopal conference, with Cardinal Laurent Monsengwo, has in mind for the Congolese Church. In this context, room is created for the past, in an open-minded, scientifically grounded way, with an eye for African identity and traditions. Globalization and the new technologies present not only a new challenge, they also create new opportunities. They make communication and exchange of information simpler. The new technology makes it possible for example – via focused digital projects – to make the shared heritage available to the Congolese "source communities." KADOC has committed itself to continue to play a significant role in this development.

THE "JESUITESSES" SISTERS IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA

Workshop Report

KRISTIEN SUENENS

From their foundation in the sixteenth century, the Jesuits have taken a prominent place in the Catholic Church. Characterized by a strict and efficient structure, a strong spiritual project and a dynamic apostolate and missionary élan, the Society of Jesus also provided a model for committed religious women and female religious institutes. During the international workshop "Appropriations and constructions of identity. The Ignatian model in male and female congregations after 1773," which was held from 8 until 10 July 2013 at the Université catholique de Louvain (UCL), an attempt was made to clarify this phenomena in its "long-term" history and to analyze it from a broad comparative perspective. The congress, which was the initiative of Silvia Mostaccio (UCL), was the result of a collaboration between the university and its research units RSCS (Religions, Spiritualités, Cultures, Sociétés – Religions, Spiritualities, Cultures, Societies), IACCHOS (Institut d'analyse du changement dans l'histoire et les sociétés contemporaines – Institute for the analysis of change in history and contemporary societies) and GEMCA (Group for Early Modern Cultural Analysis) and KADOC-KU Leuven.

Angela Merci (1474-1540), founder of the Ursulines.

Mary Ward (1585-1645), founder of the Congregation of Jesus and the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Although it was clearly in conflict with the constitutions of the Society, which indicated that the "curia monialium" was not part of the range of responsibilities of its members, the Jesuits had a long, but not unproblematic tradition of supervising women religious and female religious institutes. In their introductory lecture, Sabine Pavone (Universita di Macerata) and Silvia Mostaccio (UCL) put forward an overview of five centuries of "Jesuitesses," or women and societies inspired by the Ignatian model: from Angela Merici, founder of the Ursulines in the sixteenth century, and Mary Ward, whose seventeenth-century congregation was disbanded on the grounds of a too great similarity with the Jesuit order, to numerous eighteenth- and nineteenth-century apostolic female communities, which, across the world, drew their inspiration from the Society's model. A number of important fields of tension immediately came to the fore that received more profound attention in other lectures.

ROMAN HESITATION

There was, in the first place, a significant difference in attitude between the Jesuits and the women religious on the field on the one hand, and the top of the Society and the Church hierarchy on the other hand. This became apparent through the contributions of Alessandro Serra (Université de Liège), Bernadette Truchet (Centre de Documentation et d'Archives des Œuvres Pontificales Missionaires, Lyon), Adriana Valerio (Università degli Studi di Napoli), Giancarlo Rocca (Società San Paolo - Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione), Kristien Suenens (KADOC-KU Leuven), Sarah Barthélemy (UCL) and Marie-Elisabeth Henneau (Université de Liège), among others, on diverse eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Italian, French and Belgian sister congregations with a strong Ignatian profile.

The supervision of sister congregations by Jesuits, or the choice of the Ignatian model by women religious was not self-evident. Neither the leadership of the Society nor the Church authorities were enthusiastic about either form of influence. Aware of the prohibition of the constitu-

Sophie Barat (1779-1865), founder of the French Dames du Sacré-Cœur (Society of the Sacred Heart).

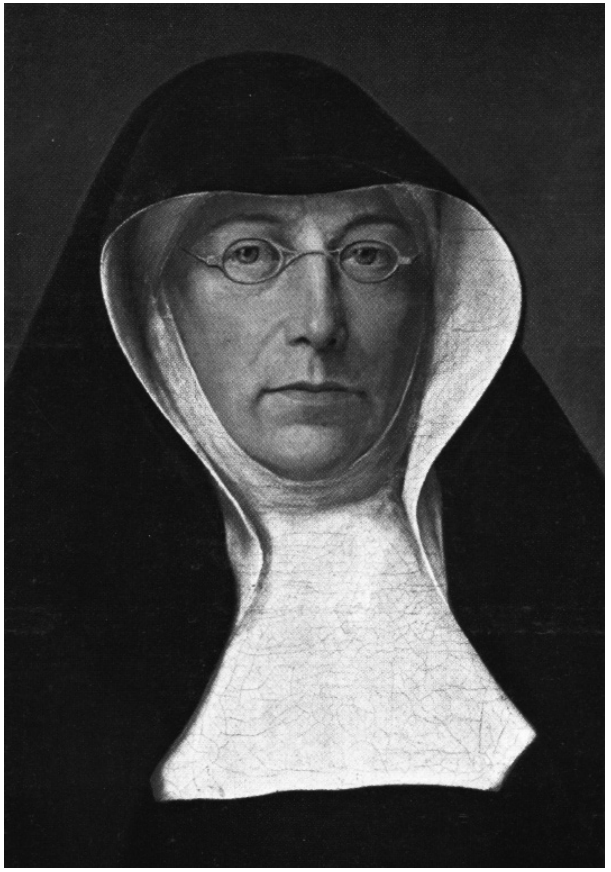
The Jesuit Joseph Varin (1769-1850).

Julie Billiart (1751-1816), founder of the Sisters of Notre-Dame of Namur.

tions, several Jesuit generals feared that the flexible apostolic availability and mobility of individual Jesuits would suffer from a too strong engagement for one or other local community of sisters. The Holy See was more concerned that the Ignatian model, permeated with a militant urge to evangelize and an extensive involvement in the (secular) world far from the safety of the cloister enclosure, would incite sisters to a kind of female "priesthood." Rome also saw a strong dependence on the Jesuits as a possible threat to the women religious' freedom of conscience. Both in the Vatican and in the Borgo San Spirito, the "Curia Generalizia" (the central offices of the Jesuits in Rome), it was often doubted whether the model of the Jesuit order – with the above mentioned characteristics, coupled with the high level of training and with its members' relative freedom of movement – was at all suitable for women.

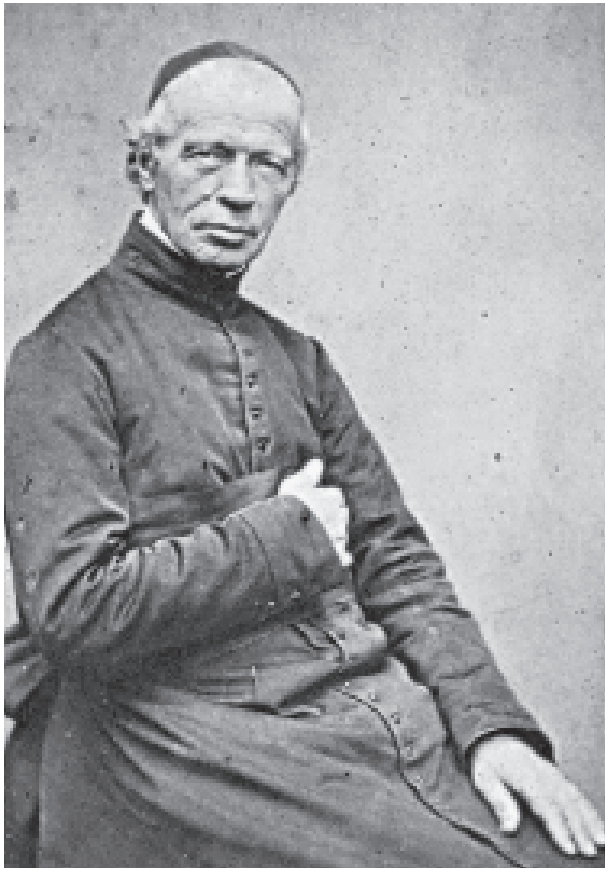
The reticence of the Roman authorities did not prevent many individual Jesuits and women religious from making an all-out effort to establish a female congregation based on the Ignatian model. Although the choice was seldom made for an exact copy of the constitutions and structures of the Society – and adjustments were certainly made as far as the requisites of female monasticism were concerned – many female apostolic congregations became permeated by certain Ignatian elements, such as a hierarchical and extensive organizational structure, a strong emphasis on the apostolate (in particular teaching and retreats), the absence of strict rules of cloistered life and choral prayer, the essential role of the Ignatian spiritual exercises . . . In consequence of the hard attitude of the Roman authorities, the most intense cooperation between Jesuits and women religious manifested itself at the periphery of the Catholic world, far from the authority of Rome and during periods when the Church was undergoing great tumult and destabilization. Alicia Fraschina (Universidad de Buenos Aires) gave a striking example of this in her contribution on the Argentinean eighteenth-century sister Maria Antonia de San José.

The suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773 and the complete dismantling of the Church after the French Revolution were important catalysts for this evolution. Partly encouraged by the ecclesial and religious vacuum, the model of the monastic female cloister that had dominated up until that time had to definitively make way for new initiatives with an apostolic character, inspired by existing models such as that of the Ursulines, the Loreto sisters of Mary Ward, and other female congregations based on the Jesuit order. The same applied to ex-Jesuits and "Jesuits in disguise", such as Pères de la Foi, or the Paccaranarists who had found a new challenge in the supervision of women religious and a means of passing on the spirit of Ignatius. The



Justine Debille (1801-1866), founder tot the Sisters of the Child Jesus of Nivelles.

Anna de Meeûs (1823-1904), founder of the Dames de l'Adoration Perpétuelle (Sisters of Perpetual Adoration).



The Jesuit Jean-Baptiste Boone (1794-1871).

religious revival of the first half of the nineteenth century, with its focus on apostolic engagement, offered these young institutions every opportunity for development.

INTERNAL AND GENDER RELATED TENSIONS

The tensions manifested themselves not only in a vertical direction. Conflicts also occurred among the Jesuits and the women religious themselves, often because the existing gender relations came under pressure. Soumita Choudhuri (Vassar College, New York) analyzed the casus of an eighteenth-century French mystic who accused her Jesuit confessor of assault and heresy. Susan O'Brien (St. Edmunds College, University of Cambridge) related the story of the married congregation founder Cornelia Connely, who in 1846, in collaboration with the Jesuits, founded the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. In Henneau's aforementioned contribution, clarification was given of how Françoise Blin de Bourdon, the second mother superior of the Sœurs de Notre-Dame de Namur (Sisters of Notre-Dame of Namur) sought to draw attention to the importance of her predecessor, Julie Billiart, in the founding of the congregation, which minimized the – also significant - role of the Pères de la Foi.

In the same vein as the Roman lament in relation to the freedom of conscience of the religious, in several lectures (Henneau, Suenens, Rocca) reference was also made to the position of the confessor and the practice of the "manifestation of conscience." In order to develop and consolidate their Ignatian identity, in many female congregations – not infrequently at the request of the women religious themselves – Jesuits were appointed as confessors and spiritual directors. In this way, the female congregations were assured of the continuing support for their apostolic and spiritual project. They also gained access to the important social and religious networks of the Society of Jesus, not

unimportant for the meeting of their material needs and a successful recruiting policy. The dominant position of the Jesuits led – once the challenging founding years were behind them – at times however to opposing reactions from the mother superiors and (co-)founders. They strove for greater autonomy and greater independence from the Jesuits, supported in this through their growing prestige and charisma within the community of sisters.

In keeping with their Ignatian model, many congregations had adopted a pyramidical organizational structure, where the general superior held a strong internal position. Just as with the Jesuits, in many of the sister congregations with an Ignatian profile, there was a strong emphasis on unconditional obedience to the superior, and a renunciation of one's own will for the sake of the interests of the group. Both aspects came to expression in the "manifestation of conscience": the regular revealing of one's own feelings and thoughts to the superior. This practice, which was applied in many male religious orders, but which was associated with the Jesuits in particular – became increasingly questioned during the nineteenth century. The question arose whether the "manifestation of conscience" was appropriate for the 'easily influenced' and 'fragile' female soul and whether or not it was in conflict with the ecclesiastical legislation concerning men and women religious' freedom of conscience. Finally, in 1890, Rome promulgated a prohibition against the use of the "manifestation of conscience" in all female and in a great many male cloister communities.

GIRLS EDUCATION AND FORMATIVE RELIGIOUS TRAINING AS "IGNATIAN APOSTOLATE"

The Ignatian model manifested itself also – and possibly especially – in the apostolic identity of the female congregations. In many of the aforementioned contributions, it became apparent that the education of girls and formative religious training (retreats, catechism...) were the primary tasks of the sister congregations that to a greater or lesser degree found their inspiration in the Jesuit tradition. The missionary zeal of the Society was in this way translated to the female standards, even if the usual gender conflicts also proved unavoidable.

Two basis texts of the Society, the *Ratio Studiorum* for education and the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius for retreats, served not infrequently as a guideline for the apostolate work of the sisters. The classic grammar school education, which was the heart of the exclusively male education of the Jesuit schools, was scarcely available for girls in the nineteenth century. And yet, many of the female educative congregations with an Ignatian profile succeeded in implementing some of the basic principles of *Ratio Studiorum* – such as the emphasis on self-development and the focus on the exact sciences – in the curriculum of the traditional girls' boarding schools. In this way, the Ignatian principles of education – essentially directed at boys – also received a feminine translation.

The Spiritual Exercises – in the form of a three- or eight-day retreat – constituted an important part of the religious training in many of the Ignatian sister congregations. In the spirit of their apostolate of (re)evangelization and the fight against religious ignorance, several eighteenth- and nineteenth-century congregations ventured, often as elaboration of their already existing apostolate of catechesis, to organize retreats on the basis of the Exercises. Although their task as women religious remained limited to the practical organization, they were all the same able – through their selection of retreat speakers and the publication of their retreat reports, among other things – to contribute to the re-Christianizing of the post-revolution Church.

More research needs to take place regarding the exact gender ratio within this kind of apostolate. It is clear that the UCL-colloquium opened up diverse interesting and new areas of research. But it was also clear to many present that it was mainly limited to interesting initiatives that require further expansion. Hopefully, these will receive an impulse from the many colloquia that will be held worldwide in the context of the reinstitution of the Society (1814-2014). Together with the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies (KU Leuven), the University of Namur, the Jesuits of the North and South provinces of Belgium and Luxembourg, the State Archives in Belgium, the Netherlands Institute for Jesuit Studies, the Ruusbroec Society (University of Antwerp), and the Centre for Religious Art and Culture (Centrum voor Religieuze Kunst en Cultuur) (CRKC), KADOC-KU Leuven will hold an international colloquium from 23 until 25 October 2014, in relation to the 200th anniversary of the restoration of the Society of Jesus in the Low Countries.

THE AFTERLIFE/ *NACHLEBEN* AND THE HERITAGIZATION OF THE URBAN CLOISTERS

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTES AFTER THEIR DISSOLUTION AT THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY

Research Project

PIETER-JAN PELGRIMS

Location of the 35 cloisters (including the beguinage) in Antwerp on the eve of the dissolution of the religious institutes, c. 1823-1824.

The abolition of the cloisters between 1773 and 1796 led to an unseen redistribution of property. The cloister buildings that had been seized as national property were demolished, were given a different function (for example as military, public, or industrial building) or fell victim to speculators who sold the cloister ground on, whether subdivided in building lots or not, with fantastic profit. Within a few decades, the urban landscape, previously dominated by religious buildings, underwent a true metamorphose. A new research project, "The redeveloped city. The transformation and heritagization after the secularization of Belgian cloisters (1773/1796-1860)," intends to study the afterlife/ *Nachleben* and the heritagization of these secularized urban cloisters.

The abolition of the Jesuit order by Pope Clemens XIV, implemented in the Austrian Low Countries under Empress Maria-Theresa on 2 September 1773, also involved the confiscation of their property. Between 1783 and 1785, as part of Joseph II's church politics, a total of 163 cloisters "without social use" were abolished in the Southern Netherlands. The deathblow for all the remaining cloisters followed under the French regime, that suppressed all cloister orders on 1 September 1796 and on 6 November declared their goods to be forfeited. The closure of the cloisters was carried out between 1796 and 1798.

In the existing literature, the departure of the cloister communities is often considered as the finishing point for the history of cloister buildings, and scarcely any light is shed on the *Nachleben*/afterlife of the cloisters. The historical reuse of (urban) cloisters and churches has, up until now, mainly been researched through individual studies. Systematic research, at the level of cities or a country, is wanting. The project "The redeveloped city" intends to change this. It will be financed by the FWO (Research Foundation - Flanders) and led by Thomas Coomans de Brachène (the principle supervisor), Jan De Maeyer, Inge Bertels, Bruno De Meulder, Luc Noppen (co-supervisors) and Peter Heyrman. The university and research institutes

involved are: KU Leuven, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Université du Québec à Montréal and KADOC-KU Leuven.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST CLOISTERS

The expression "the survival of the fittest cloisters" refers to "the selection" that took place among the cloister buildings over a time span of more than two centuries. Many cloisters – whether or not an initial reuse had taken place – were demolished (for their building material) and the estates of a great many urban cloisters were subdivided for development and road construction. In 1854 for example, the St. Paul street was constructed on the grounds of the former Dominican cloister of Antwerp. Other cloister grounds were then transformed into parks or squares, as for example the cloister grounds of the Discalced Carmelites in Antwerp (today the Theatre Square), or the Jesuit church in Brussels (today the "Place de la Justice" – Square of Justice). Some cloisters were completely effaced from the present townscape, such as those of the Minims, Alexians, English Theresians, and Apostolins of Antwerp. In a few exceptional cases, the orders or congregations succeeded in again gaining possession of their – often mutilated – cloisters, for example the Black Sisters in Antwerp, or the cloister buildings and grounds were bought by other religious institutes (for example the former cloisters of the Carthusians and the Capuchins in Antwerp). The decisive characteristic for the chance of a cloister building's "survival" is mainly time-related. Where in the first half of the nineteenth century a pragmatic approach dominated, giving attention to the state of preservation, the location, and the morphology of the buildings, with an eye to an appropriate and financially responsible reuse; from the second half of that century, the (art) historical and heritage value of the buildings came to the fore as important criteria in deciding for demolishment or preservation.

KEY ISSUES

The research project intends on the one hand to provide insight into the specific transformation mechanisms of the secularized urban cloisters and on the other hand to reconstruct the heritagization of the buildings.

The first key issue involves questions relating to the actors of the urban transformation, the reuse strategies on the scale level of the cloister buildings *and* within a broader urban development perspective etcetera. The transformation process of the urban cloisters will be studied at several scale levels: the micro level of the individual buildings, the meso level of the cloister complex and its immediate environment, and on the macro level of the town.

In Brussels in 1775, the cloisters covered more than ten percent of the total city area intramuros. The mutation of the urban landscape with the (partial) demolition, reuse and/or subdivision of the cloisters at the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with as a result the disappearance of important urban points of reference, resulted in lacunas in the urban fabric *and* in the collective memory. The loss and the transformation of the formerly important spiritual and social-economical centers in the city cannot have taken place in an atmosphere of complete indifference. Little is known however of what citizens felt about the developments before 1830, when the notion of "national heritage" made an appearance. The second key question of this research project therefore involves the heritagization of the urban cloisters, that is, the gradual awakening to their heritage value.

CASE STUDIES

The abovementioned questions will be explored in relation to the capital city of Brussels and the Flemish cities of Antwerp and Bruges. In the context of this research, the Belgian cities are exceptional objects of study for four historical reasons. The Southern Netherlands had an urban tradition in which the presence of religious orders had played an important role since the Middle Ages and one that was strengthened further during the Counter-Reformation. The successive Austrian, French, and Dutch rule over our territories at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century makes a unique historical context for the secularization of the Belgian cloisters. Furthermore, Belgium was the cradle of the industrial revolution on the continent. Finally, the establishment of the kingdom of Belgium in 1830 and the nineteenth-century Catholic revival lay at the basis of the construction of a proper national identity and have led to the rediscovery of our (religious) architecture in the past.

THE REUSE OF CLOISTER BUILDINGS: A PERIPHERAL PHENOMENON?

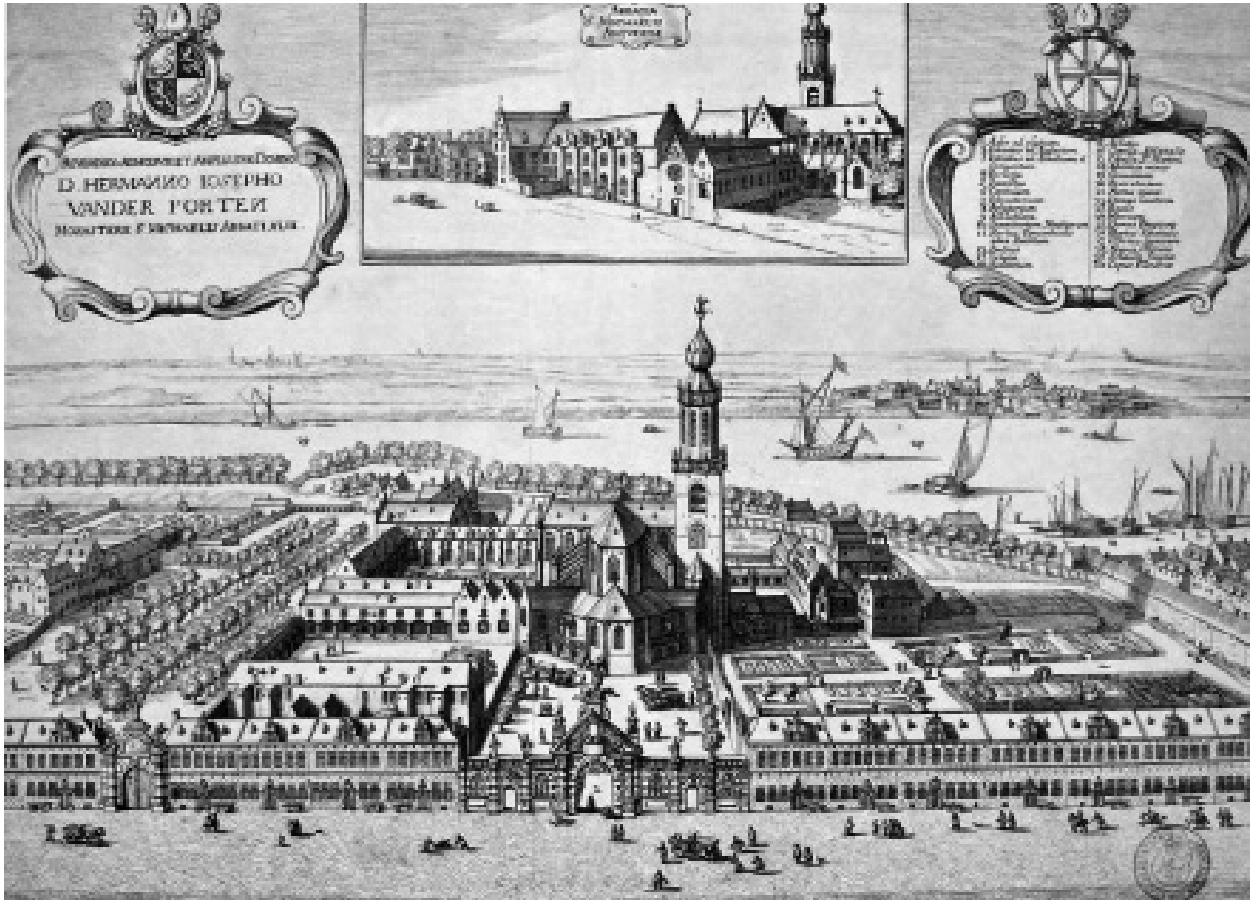
Cloisters were not only important centers from a religious point of view, but were also centers for education and medical care, in particular the cloisters of the educative and hospital congregations. The abolishing of the cloister orders and the pursuit of the realization of a truly modern society implied the responsibility of the state for the establishing of schools, hospitals and so on. In the light of the industrial revolution and the climate of war at the time, there was also a great need of industrial and military buildings (train stations, depots, factory buildings, barracks, arsenals, stables ...). The state was moreover also responsible for the organization of the courts of justice and the prisons. It should come as no surprise that in consequence of the limited undeveloped ground in the cities, the lack of government money for new development, and the pressing need for the above-mentioned buildings, these concerns were accommodated in the former cloister buildings.

Although the reuse of the existing buildings was by no means a fringe phenomenon, in existing literature about new architectural typologies of the modern state, it is primarily new designs that are studied. The example of the establishing of army barracks in Brussels illustrates the importance of the phenomenon of reuse. The four major barracks of the city were, from the Austrian period until 1852, housed in buildings that were not designed for military purposes, namely the old castle of Ansillon and the convents of the sisters of the Annunciation, Lorraine and Saint Elisabeth. This latter convent remained a military barrack until 1905. On 24 September 1852, the new military barracks of the Little Castle were inaugurated, more than twenty years after the first plans for the building of new military quarters. It is worth mentioning that in the French decrees that ordered the establishing of military barracks in Brussels, there is no mention of new buildings. In the Leie department, the precursor of the province of West Flan-

ders, the abandoned religious buildings were "the first to be considered suitable" for the housing of the state police and in October 1796 an official resolution was passed in order to stimulate the housing in cloisters as much as possible. Up until the present, no research has been done on how the experience of the reuse of the urban cloisters contributed to the development and refining of the new architectural typologies of the modern state.

LESSONS FOR TODAY

The first frame of the study concerning the afterlife/*Nachleben* of the buildings and ground of the suppressed cloisters on Belgian territory between 1773/1796 and 1860 relates to the physical and visual urban transformation mechanism. The issues that will be dealt with are: who were the actors (the state, industrialists, speculators, urban construction engineers, designers...), what were their interests and why did they give preference to the reuse of buildings or demolishment. Did the demolishment and transformation of the buildings fit into a city plan for urban development or was the opting for a certain scenario more coincidental? What was the influence of the city location, the morphology and architecture of the cloisters on the perception of the buildings as appropriate or inappropriate for specific reuse? Such questions are still extremely relevant today, more than two centuries after the Enlightenment, in the light of the present issue of the reuse of religious heritage.



St. Michael's Abbey in Antwerp, 17th Century.

TIME AND SPACE

The choice of Brussels (metropolis), Antwerp and Bruges (medium-sized towns) as case studies is based on architectural historical criteria. At the close of the eighteenth century, a critical mass of male and female cloisters was present in these three cities. Through the need for urban infrastructure and embellishment, and the presence of capital, administration, and a large population, the most important morphological urban construction change took place in the medium to large sized cities. For the three cases, only cloisters and religious houses within the city walls, or intramuros will be taken into consideration. The city walls impeded the growth of the cities, and until their demolishment, which can be situated around 1860-1880 in Brussels and Antwerp, they encompassed the city like a tight corset. The similar peripheral conditions make a comparative study between Brussels, Antwerp and Bruges interesting.

The period under study, 1773/1796 to 1860, is characterized by far-reaching social, political, legal and administrative reforms within the former Austrian, French, Dutch, and Belgian institutional framework. In 1860, two laws were passed with important consequences for the area of heritage and urban development: the establishing of provincial departments of the Royal Commission for Monuments and the abolition of the patent law.

ST. MICHAEL'S ABBEY IN ANTWERP

In illustration of the research possibilities of the proposed project, a brief history follows of the St. Michael's Abbey in Antwerp, founded in 1124. After the dissolution of all cloister orders by law on 1 September 1796, and the confiscation of all their goods on 6 November, the Norbertines were driven from the abbey on 16 December. The abbey grounds were bordered by the *Kloosterstraat* (East), the *Krom-Elle-*

boogstraat (N), "*den grooten Eeckhof*" (S) and the Scheldt (W). In March 1797, the public court of law became housed in the abbey buildings. Scarcely a month later, on 14 April, the abbey, which had been assessed as national property, was put up for sale at one of the 165 public auctions that took place between 1797 and 1800 in the department of the *Twee Neten* (Two Nets).

The property was subdivided into four lots, which were bought by the citizen Asseline, authorized by Jean-Baptiste Paulée. Despite the provisions of sale, the French administration did not move the civil court of law within a period of three months subsequent to the sale. The moveable goods, such as furniture, altars and robes were sold on 26 August 1797, far below their market value. As a result of the intervention of the commissioner of the executive board, Dargonne, important works of art were not taken to Paris, but remained in Antwerp at the Central School for educative purposes. On 8 September 1800, J.-B. Paulée, the owner of the Company Paulée, in turn sold the St. Michael's Abbey for 322,000 francs to Jean Johannot and Michel Jean Simons. M.J. Simons had, together with his brother, Henri Simons, set up the company Simons Frères. A map of the grounds, dating from this period, is preserved in the French national library (Bibliothèque nationale de France) on which traces of two new streets on the grounds of the abbey have been drawn. In 1802, a second map was made, which is presently preserved in the General State Archives in Brussels, where the grounds have been split into seven lots.

Simons and Johannot disposed of the abbey on 3 October 1803 for the sum of 600,000 francs, to the advantage of the French Republic. The *Prinsenhof* – all the buildings south of the central complex, where members of the Habsburg-Burgundy house and European princes such as Edward III of England had stayed – was demolished, as were the cloister buildings north of the church. Slipways for the marine arsenal were built on the abbey grounds. The abbey church and the related buildings were transformed into a depot and offices for the *Dienst der Maritieme Werken* (Service for Maritime Works). After the discontinuation of the carpenters wharfs under King William in 1814, the abbey church was reallocated as a warehouse and part of the cloister buildings were transformed into a prison. In 1824, a military arsenal was built on the grounds of the Castle square. The bombardment of Antwerp in 1830, on the order of the Dutch general Chassé, reduced the former abbey more or less to ashes. The tower of the St Michael's church survived the fire, but was demolished in 1833. The master builder Berckmans developed a plan around 1838 for the construction of a park on the vacated grounds, but no suite was given to this. Instead, the St. Michael's quay was built and the military arsenal was rebuilt. The latter building had to go when the Scheldt quays were adjusted at the end of the nineteenth century. Today, one or two street names are the only reminder of the spot's rich past.

TOYS YOU CAN BELIEVE IN
Exhibition

ROELAND HERMANS

From 19 April until 15 June 2013, KADOC hosted the exhibition *Toys You Can Believe In*, focusing on liturgical toys and games and their accompanying stories. The "game of mass" may well have been the most popular game in Catholic Flanders, but the exhibition also exhibited other games and toys through which parents passed on – and still pass on – religious values and traditions. Furthermore, religious playthings are apparently no unique Catholic phenomena. A games' tradition also exists in other religions and especially in our own time, through the internet, there is an extensive availability of Protestant, Islamic, and Jewish toys.

THE ABC OF FAITH

In many religions, an important role is reserved for the word as the bearer of the subject matter of faith. For children there are illustrated books with stories of the saints. These are read at school and at home. Furthermore, some parents give their children religious toys in order to provide a meaningful and appropriate way of spending free time. Magic lantern pictures with biblical scenes are an example from the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Later these were followed by, among other things, puzzles showing the same stories. Noah's ark is a particularly popular puzzle theme and not only for Catholics and Protestants, but also for Muslims. The story of the flood is also to be found in the toy chests in other forms. In addition to puzzles, there are miniature arks with accompanying animals, originally in wood and later in plastic, as for example produced by the German toy manufacturer Playmobil.

Children of the Crols family playing Mass (Turnhout, 1906).

Doll dressed in a habit.

Slightly older children can sharpen their knowledge of faith with board games such as *Sanctus*, on the life of the saints and the Great Bible Quiz, with thousands of questions on the Old and New Testament. Very similar in approach is the *Junior Quran Challenge Game*, in which questions on stories, prophets, peoples, and places in the Quran open up a "world of pleasure, wisdom, and education." Religious card games, such as Bible Happy Families, similarly combine relaxation and education. In the Hindu card game *Dasavatara Ganjifa*, dedicated to the god Vishnu, another dimension is added. Playing with the hand-painted cards is actually part of the religious practice.

Then there are toys that may only be played with on certain feast days and that therefore teach children not only something about the day itself, but also about the rhythm religion gives to life. One example is the card game played during the Jewish feast of Hanukkah. The cards portray the nine-arm candelabra used on the eighth-day feast, with on every arm and at the foot of the candelabra, an instruction for the feast. The most traditional children's game during the days of this feast is a game with a spinning top. Written in Hebrew on the sides of this special top, the driedel, are the first letters of the words "a great miracle happened there."

THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE

Most religious toys and games do not "translate" the content of faith, but make children familiar with the broader religious culture. Playing out the mass is a striking example. The (daily) celebrating of mass was brought home by this game played in the domestic setting. The game was not non-committal. Parents who gave their sons a liturgical play outfit undoubtedly hoped to awaken their devotion and perhaps even to stimulate a call to the priesthood. For this reason, the ecclesiastical gender roles of the Church were retained in the game and girls could only play the passive role of believer, or, at best, that of an acolyte.

For girls there were dolls dressed in a habit. These also represented a sort of pre-figuration of a possible choice of vocation. They made young girls familiar with the religious figure, her clothing, and her role in society. Nowadays, religious dolls derive their identity in particular from their rejection of contemporary clothing, where Barbie especially lost out. The Islamic Barbies show Muslim girls that it is natural that women wear the hijab or headscarf.

In addition to "personalities," there is of course also the "scenery." Catholic children played with miniature confessional boxes and pulpits and could build a church with building blocks. For Muslim children, building blocks exist at present with which they can build a mosque, including its minarets and domes, and in the Mitzvah Monopoly game, a Jewish variant of Monopoly, not only houses, but also synagogues can be built.

The broader Christian culture, as it came to expression in for example "missionary snakes and ladders," or in a "procession" game with cardboard figures, makes an appearance every so often today in a new generation of board games. The game designers make use of a frame of reference that they believe will elicit the required (often from the Middle Ages) mood. The religious scenery that was formerly taken for granted has now become something exotic.

As a result of this exhibition a catalogue was published in the series KADOC/EXPO.

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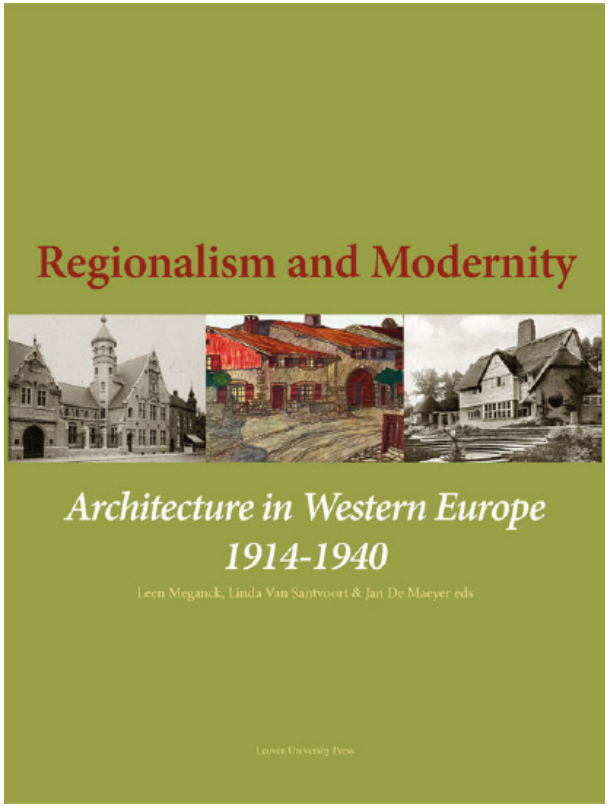

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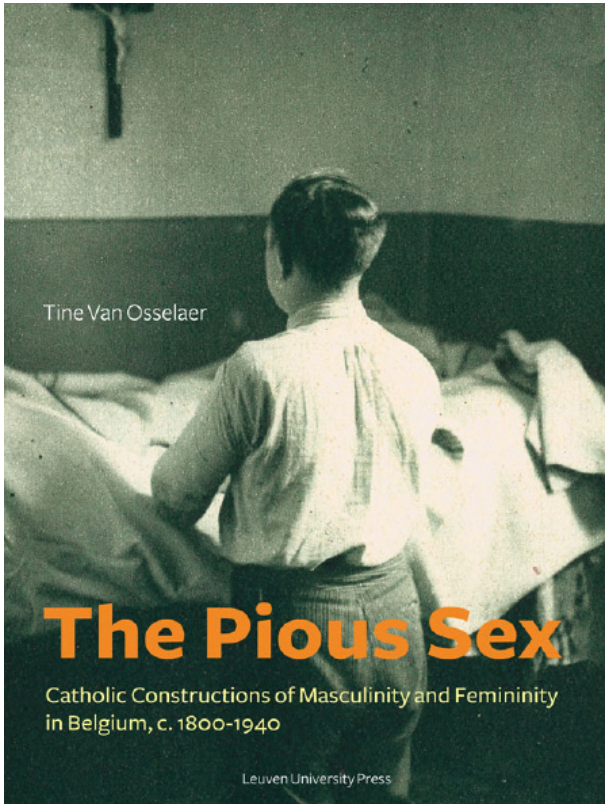

TRAJECTA SETS A NEW COURSE

On 20 September 2013, the redesigned *Trajecta* magazine and its new website Trajecta Portal were launched in the Catharijneconvent Museum in Utrecht. The aim is for the magazine and website to be the meeting place for people with a historical interest in the role of religion in culture and society of the Low Countries. *Trajecta* will be expanding its horizons to include the history of all Christian denominations in the Low Countries, and will have a more international focus. Two print editions of *Trajecta* are published annually, one with a special theme, full of scholarly articles in Dutch and English. A broad-based Flemish-Dutch editorial staff, bolstered by an advisory council of international colleagues and international expert reviewers, guarantees the high quality of the articles.

The portal site www.trajectaportal.eu provides up-to-date information about everything connected with the study of the history of religion in the Low Countries. Researchers, research institutes, museums and archives will introduce themselves and their research projects. You'll find book reviews, announcements of exhibitions, study workshops and congresses, and information about source publications and databases. Back issues of *Trajecta* and its predecessors are also archived in digital form. You can ask fellow researchers questions or take part in debates on historical issues on the forum. Trajecta Portal is an open access forum: everything is accessible, with the exception of the last three volumes of the magazine, which can only be consulted online by paid subscription.

The magazine and website are supported by three historical documentation and research centres in the Netherlands and Belgium: KADOC at KU Leuven, the KDC at Radboud University Nijmegen and the HDC at the Vrije Universiteit (VU University) Amsterdam.